

586 or that the husband finds his wife to be capricious or disobedient. In such cases the couple can separate for a while (kwahukana). But this separation often makes them think it over; either the husband makes amends and fetches his wife from her parents, giving presents to the latter and to his wife (beer, cloth, or goats), or else the wife, realizing that she was in the wrong to leave her home, returns of her own will.

During the time of separation, the children, except nurslings, remain with the husband.

If an understanding is definitely impossible, divorce (kwahukana rwose, lit., to separate definitely) can be requested by one of the couple.

Causes of divorce in favor of the husband (repudiation) are: repeated adultery; dirtiness; negligence in the care of the household and the supervision of servants; the evil eye (1) that will cause illness

1. Cf. preceding page, note 1.

of the husband or cattle; and, above all, stubborn disobedience.

[843] Sterility may be a cause for divorce, but if the husband is pleased with his wife he will keep her and merely take another who will be able to give him children.

Illness, even when prolonged, is not a cause for divorce. [34] If the marriage has been fruitful, the husband cannot take back the dowry, but keeps the indongoranyo he received from his father-in-law.

If there are no children, the husband who has received the indongoranyo is not authorized to claim the inkwano. He can do so, in the opposite case, but the wife's parents, in order to avoid this obligation, give him another of their daughters.

If the dowry has been paid in full, the children remain with their father, except those that have not been weaned.

The wife can ask for a divorce if the husband does not pay the dowry, does not provide her with cloth and ornaments, continually

• [76] ill-treats her, or if the children's, dying one after another makes her believe in the malevolent influence of her husband.

If there are children, the husband may keep the indongoranyo. In the opposite case, he takes back the dowry unless he has received the indongoranyo.

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

171 Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mittheilungen, 1879, p. 392).

768 In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a
775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place
769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

766 Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca-
661 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king. " This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

791 in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the
 799 aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *inandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barozi*), on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

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 772 Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

811 But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes of others. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or the rainy season is considered to be due to the change of weather. It is shown that yaws can be got by contagion. Even death is very often accepted without seeking any magical explanation. It is expected, for instance, that people will die because of old age. If beans had been planted on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences have

[753]

• [761]

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been observed or when 'causes' have been discovered in the sphere of human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following these causes are considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events cannot be explained by reference to natural antecedents or causes, or are surrounded by peculiar circumstances, the intervention of ghosts or sorcerers is suspected and a diviner is consulted. If somebody has tuberculosis (*igitundu*) and none of his forebears or the people with whom he lives has suffered from that disease, it is thought that sorcery is the cause. If somebody dies from an illness usually considered 'natural', but the death occurs a few days after a theft of which he is the supposed culprit, he is said to have been magically stricken at the request of the robbed person. [753] [761]

This attitude is in fact quite coherent. When the natural cause is known, the event is attributed to it; when it is not known, or appears extraordinary on account of the circumstances, the explanation is given in terms of beliefs concerning the non-material world. Why do Westerners not use a magical frame of reference on similar occasions? First, their wider knowledge of natural sequences of antecedents and consequents makes the residuum of naturally inexplicable facts more restricted. For instance, a sudden death appears to them quite understandable for purely medical reasons. To Banyarwanda, on the contrary, a sudden death is an event of which the physical causes are completely unknown. Second, even for residual facts not scientifically explained, there is in Western culture a faith that, given time and effort, a scientific explanation will be found. The Munyarwanda has no such belief in positive science. Third, for the disconcerting circumstances which may be coincidental with illness or death, the concept of chance, which does not appear frequently in Ruanda culture, is resorted to. However, Western believers in a provident God see in these exceptional circumstances, not an accidental constellation, but a sign of the meaning God intends to give to the illness or death. [761]

A threat permanently dominating the mind of the Bahutu was that of being accused of sorcery. This danger was connected with the invisible world but was objective enough, for such an accusation could result in being killed and, of course, merely to refrain from anti-social magic did not ensure immunity from being called a *murozi*. 754

The Nature and Situation of Man

Kazikamuntu (which may mean Root-of-Men) is the common ancestor of all mankind. Created by *Imana*, he had, among other children, Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa who, as their names indicate, are the ancestors of the three Ruanda social and 'racial' groups. Gatwa killed one of his brothers and for that reason was cursed by his father. Gahutu, who had been chosen by his father as heir and successor, had been commissioned by him to accomplish an important mission. As a result of overeating, Gahutu fell asleep and could not collect the information his father wanted. Gatutsi, on the 773 564

773 other hand, got it by his sobriety and cleverness. Kazikamuntu then chose
564 Gatutai to be the chief of the brothers. There are numerous versions of this
tale. Moreover, the stories concerning man's creation are often inextricably
mixed with the legends about the arrival of the Batutai in Ruanda. The
same names appear sometimes in the creation, sometimes in the conquest
stories. In general the latter are better known. The summary given above is
thus only one of the various accounts of the origin of mankind.

773 According to a widely known folk-tale, Death, personalized as a sort of
761 animal, was hunted by *Imana*. He told all men to stay at home in order that
Death should not find a hiding-place. An old woman, however, went out to
work in her banana-grove. Death, pursued by *Imana*, asked her protection.
Moved by pity, she let the animal hide under her skirt. *Imana*, in order to
punish her, decided then that death should stay with men. This story might
perhaps suggest a belief that there was a time when men did not die. But
we could not find other elements to corroborate that interpretation.

114 On the ontological character of man two points are certain. First, an
928 adult human being is considered to be different from an animal by virtue
of his faculty of speech (*kituga*), his intelligence (*ubwenge*), and his will
(*ugushaka*); but the difference, if any, between a small child and an animal
is not quite clear. Second, no one of these attributes is equated with the
surviving spirit (*muzimu*). There is something in the human being which,
after his death, becomes *muzimu*, but there is no agreement as to what it is.
According to a fairly common opinion, the *muzimu* is the metamorphosis of
the *igicucu*, the shadow cast by the body in sunshine. But according to some
informants, this shadow is only an image of the spiritual shadow which is
the essence of the post-mortem spirit. In conformity with that opinion, the
living man is said to be made of three components: the body (*mubili*) which,
after death, becomes a corpse (*murambo*); life (*buzima*), which disappears;
and the shadow (*igicucu*) from which the surviving spirit (*muzimu*) results.

[826] The heart is believed to be the seat of intelligence and affectivity. It is
conceived as a single organ although some ways of speaking suggest that it
is double. For instance, it is frequently said: 'One heart told me this, one
heart told me that.' This is another application of the habit of attributing
opposed effects of the same cause to several causes, but this is only a verbal
habit which does not deceive anybody.

These uncertainties regarding the nature of man indicate that Banyar-
wanda do not make any clear-cut distinction between the concepts of body
and mind. Although they recognize parts in man, they prefer to consider
the unit rather than its components.

080 Whatever the culture, human experience is made up of a sequence of
events and activities, such as working, eating, sleeping, maturing, suffering,
mating, getting old, and dying. What is the Ruanda attitude in face of these
universals of human life? In many societies these happenings are considered
not in their naked reality but in terms of the beliefs held as true in the
particular culture. For instance, in a society with a Christian ideology, to

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suffer is not only to be hurt but also to expiate one's sins, to purify one's soul, and to identify oneself with Christ. For serious Christians, suffering cannot be stripped of its religious meaning without being completely distorted. Banyarwanda, on the contrary, seem to take a very 'secular' view of the human condition. Their belief in the supernatural world does not greatly influence their attitude to the unavoidable hardships and pleasures of life. All our informants agree that to die means above all to quit life. They believe that they will become *bazima* but that leaves them rather indifferent. Even initiates do not show any enthusiasm for the idea of joining *Ryanyombe* and his *imandwa* at their feasts. To abandon his children, his herds, his friends, is a sad thing for a Mututsi. But it is accepted, without dramatizing it, as one of those facts which belong to the normal order of things.

If quitting this life is so unfortunate, is human existence such a cheerful experience for Banyarwanda? Enjoyments and the pleasant things of life are very unevenly distributed in Ruanda. The superior caste, the Batutsi, form about 10 per cent. of the population. But, by various means, principally by the institutionalized exchange of cattle for services and dues, Batutsi have been able to gather a much higher proportion of consumers' goods. They do no manual work and have leisure to cultivate eloquence, poetry, refined manners, and the subtle art of being witty when talking and drinking hydromel with friends. Bahutu, perhaps 85 per cent. of the population, do not enjoy such gracious living. They have to produce for themselves and for Batutsi. On a very poor soil, with technologically primitive implements, it is necessary to work hard to secure the surplus production required by the Batutsi. Moreover, the great social influence of Batutsi has given opportunities for the arbitrary exercise of power, so that there are many insecurities in a Muhutu's life. But exploitation has been kept within limits set by the wisdom and the interests of the Batutsi, and a system of protection has assured a minimum of security to the Bahutu. As to the Batwa, they are so low in the social hierarchy, and are considered so irresponsible that they have had a greater independence of action. Formerly they lived on the margin of Ruanda society. They had a reputation for grossly enjoying any opportunities for eating, drinking, making music, and dancing. It should be added that Banyarwanda, according to our standards, have been rather defenceless against disease, that starvation was a real threat for the majority when the rains failed, that ritual observances and interdicts were numerous, and that when somebody happened to be involved in a charge of sorcery he had good reason for great fear. Thus it seems that, for an ordinary Munyarwanda, life is objectively hard, often dangerous but bearable. This partly explains the Ruanda outlook upon the totality of life. It might be described as a mild optimism. As many of our informants put it: 'Existence for Banyarwanda was not easy, it was even often very painful, but on the whole, life was rather a good thing.'

As everywhere, some individuals were at some time of their lives plunged into circumstances which offered apparently no way out. A Mututsi who

154 had incurred the king's displeasure and was for that reason left without protectors, friends, or cattle was in a desperate situation; only with difficulty could he gain a bare subsistence. A Muhutu against whom an accusation of sorcery was repeated; an unmarried girl of a noble family whose pregnancy became publicly known; all these, if they failed to escape from their predicament by skill and rational behaviour (such as obtaining the king's mercy, denying the charge of sorcery and looking for the protection of a powerful man, using abortifacients or denying the pregnancy), would have recourse to the *bapfumu*, seeking to know what spirit or sorcerer was responsible for their misfortune and how to appease the malevolent being. If all the practices and offerings recommended by the diviner had no effect, then they called upon *Imana*, and if their prayers were unanswered, only drastic solutions remained, such as exile in a foreign country or suicide. But these tragic destinies were not numerous and they did not shake the belief of the majority in the moderate happiness of living.

812 There is a further reason for their generally cheerful acceptance of the conditions of their existence. Banyarwanda are not inclined to speculate about the inaccessible. Westerners are given to imagining how beautiful and good life might be if humanity and the universe were different from what they are. This trend of thinking is quite alien to Banyarwanda and, when it is suggested, appears futile to them. The usual, the normal (in the sense of what we are accustomed to, and what we have reason to expect) is often self-explanatory. When a particular event fits into the normal scheme of things, there are no questions to be asked. If everybody has to relinquish this existence and die, death is no scandal or absurdity. It is the way *Imana* has arranged things. There is no further problem.

Cultural Values

181 Human action is determined partly by cultural values, partly by the socially recognized means of attaining them. By cultural values we mean the final or intermediate aims that are considered the proper purposes of human activity in a particular society.

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564 In a stratified society, such as that of Ruanda, each layer is likely to have its own set of values, although some of those originating in one group may extend to others. Let us begin with the Batutsi. When a Mututsi informant is asked what the people of his group wish for above all, the answer comes immediately: 'children and cattle.' A further question, 'why?', discloses that these are not ultimate values sought for themselves, but intermediate ones, means to reach more abstract ends. The latter are power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

Power is understood here in connexion with persons (power over somebody) rather than with things (power to do something). It is, to paraphrase Laswell's definition, the ability that a person, engaged in a human relationship with another, has to oblige the latter to do or not to do something (on pain of suffering severe privation). Power is essentially the capacity to

181 is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and
554 everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior
152 (and any Mututai is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu
564 are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are corre-
576 spondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutai. An aristocratic
caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others
how far removed they are from the noble set.¹

181 When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutai
564 specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate
558 qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in
687 which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututai fears to be con-
sidered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine
respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was
formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property,
severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututai also fears to be
considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves
sanctions: if a Mututai has been disloyal to his lord (*shobuja*), the latter may
take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

181 All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while
564 living, but the Batutai are equally concerned with their posthumous fame.
761 To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the
554 normal ambition of any Mututai. Some deaths were particularly glorious:
715 for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender
one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a
manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than
in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a
desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a
supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mytho-
logical conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits
of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on
earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the
fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is
definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is
possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living
will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remem-
bered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would
suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they
were forgotten by the living.

181 To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and repu-
554 tation. Children² and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense
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¹ There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututai likes to be thought to possess, but the
three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

(B54) ² The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutai, children are
only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

Protectors against Lightning and Its Fearsome Consequences

791 They are known by the name of abagangahuzi (from the verb kugangahura) Their honorable and lucrative profession does not expose them to any danger.

Their role is to purify, as their name (umugangahuzi) and their duties (kugangahura) indicate, and to avert any future consequences of lightning. Here are the various circumstances in which sorcerers of this kind officiate and the manner in which they operate.

● 761 1. When a human being is struck down by lightning. Accord-
821 ing to /436/ native belief, lightning is regarded as the king of the
791 sky, who comes occasionally and chooses subjects among men. It is
(inkuke) levied by the god, or else a subject or a page of his (intore).
As a consequence, laments are forbidden. So as not to displease the
king of the sky, who may do as he pleases, the relatives and friends
of the victim must dance and emit joyful cries while the drums are
played.

766 The purifier-sorcerer then makes an appearance. Those
821 present receive from him, on the back of their hand, a few drops of
791 a liquid which they must allow to fall upon the ground. Then the
sorcerer pours some for the second time in the palm of their hand,
and each of the participants drinks what is given to him.

766 Then they inhale in turn the aroma of another liquid substance
821 (issubyo) made by the purifier.

The victim's hut and all people present are sprinkled with a
mixture of water and chalk. The corpse also gets some on the fore-
head and chest. Then it becomes proper to lay out the corpse, which
the relatives would not have dared to do prior to the sorcerer's inter-
vention.

The guests put around their necks a special grass stem
(umwishwa) which, as we have seen, plays an important role in ritual
ceremonies as though it had a purifying property. The deceased also
gets one, and the funeral procession sets out for the place where the
body is to be exposed.

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Igisura belongs to the Urticaceae family.

This plant grows to a height of about 1.50 meters. Sufferers from yaws drink its juice as a remedy. They must be careful not to take too heavy a dose, so as not to risk a serious intoxication.

It is rumored that ill-disposed people have used one or another of those plants, and in particular the mutambasha, or rat poison, to wreak their vengeance and do away with their enemies.

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Small packets of herbs were found in the possession of people suspected of practicing the poisoner's vocation.

For what purpose had those plants been gathered? Perhaps the sorcerer had tried to lend them a harmfulness which of themselves they did not possess. Backbiters in the land insist that once at least royal hands mixed those allegedly noxious substances into milk, honey, and butter intended for Europeans who were passing through. The said person achieved no results, however, and this led him /or her/ to say that it was impossible to get rid of the Whites, that poisons, spells, and bewitchment had no hold over them. We are inclined to believe that in this case charms and philters were involved rather than noxious substances.

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It is said that the penultimate king of the Uswi, Gasusuro, one of the regular suppliers of such products, replied to the court envoys one fine day when they came to fetch the goods that henceforth he would not supply them, that he was through with all poisons. It is also quite /489/ possible that his answer was dictated by the fear of being caught practicing this vocation. Let us add for the sake of truthfulness that the days are long since past when such things could be said or plotted against Europeans (1).

1. The Blacks live in the almost constant fear of bewitchment and poisoning.

Rickets, tuberculosis, and sudden or strange deaths, especially when the corpse swells up immediately, could have no other cause in their opinion.

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● [67] Balozi, poisoners, are said to kill their victims with a poison which they carry hidden under their fingernails. The poison is given to the victim on his own tobacco pipe which the poisoner treacherously borrows for a bit in order to take a few puffs. All sudden deaths are regarded as poisonings. This idea is based on the fact that poisoning is a widespread crime. Father F. Dufays told me that he once succeeded in saving a person poisoned by a balozi by giving him milk and an emetic. It looks as though there actually had been a poisoning in that case. During my stay in Ruasa I had an opportunity to see an alleged attempt at poisoning. When Captain W. Von Grawert took a guide from Ruasa on his punitive expedition, [320] the wronged ones brought us a pot of honey that was said to be poisoned. The suspicious Mututsi, Lwakazina, who had always accompanied me when I was there in order to enhance his standing through friendship with a European, discovered a small piece of fat wrapped in banana fiber in the honeypot. He maintained that it was the flesh of a native killed by the soldiers, and this was generally believed by all present. The manner in which the donors of the honey retreated, in proud awareness of a duty accomplished and with much abuse, made me inclined to believe that Lwakazina was perhaps right.

Poisoning and bewitching are known by the same word, kuloga. For this reason it is very difficult to distinguish the two in the reports one hears. It is especially difficult to find out whether sorcerers or poisoners are sought.

I could not find out whether poisoners have a secret society here. I repeatedly heard, but always in a very vague and contradictory manner, that they have nocturnal sessions around a fire (in masks?) and that they devour human flesh, even corpses, and prepare poisons.

71 Bachunyi are manufacturers of amulets. A person who wants an amulet (mpigi) to protect himself from some evil or to aid him in some manner goes to see the muchunyi. The latter hides and prepares the remedy in secret with the help of incantations.

In Ussuwi, according to Father Van Thiele, the bakoni, who are probably identical with the bachunyi of Ruanda, have the task of combatting the poison of the greatly feared and mysterious balogu.

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

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means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).²⁴ 754

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically stricken at the request of the robbed person. 771 815 [753] [761] [241] 815 771 753 787 754 [761]

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things. 761 [705]

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural 155 829

²⁴ Cf. Caeknowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.